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vices with which adults protect themselves and their kin from the ma- 869
lignancy of such ghosts. The only person who claimed to have seen a 775
ghost while I was in the community was a boy of thirteen.

There are also cases of frightening that belong to the category of 858
teasing and that have nothing to do with discipline or education. A 522
case of this sort occurred one night. It is whispered that the Hollanders' 177
voices which travel over a single telephone wire strung along the coast 538
are relayed by dead children whose heads the patrolling soldiers collect for the purpose. This superstition is in itself a new bit of folk belief significant of the attitude toward children. One night when a group of girls and boys under ten were walking along the trail, a grown man who had hidden behind a tree jumped out at them, yelling a curse word often employed by soldiers. The children raced home screaming with fear. Later the man who had frightened them stopped at their house and made fun of them for their terror.

Negative controls range from corporal punishment through decep- 761
tion, teasing, and ridicule to the inculcation of fears. Any one of these methods may be linked to another. From them the child learns not only stereotyped social attitudes but also much of the underlying pattern of human relationships.

SEX

The masturbation that little boys pursue so casually and freely dur- 864
ing early childhood seems to disappear after the acquisition of a loin- 864
cloth. At least it is no longer to be observed, and adults say that "children forget about it." I have, however, noticed young boys who have not yet quite mastered the art of tying their loincloths tugging and pulling on them in a manner suggestive of mild masturbation. There is marked modesty on the part of adults about the careful adjustment of loincloths, and as soon as a child wears his first one he begins adopting the same attitude. When a child is careless, he is laughed at and shamed by older children and adults. Within a year or two most children have learned to manage this garment. One of the acts of ag- 865
gression at this stage of life, and one that may crop up under extreme provocation in adult quarrels, is ripping off the loincloth of one's opponent. Such behavior brings strong condemnation and even physical punishment from adults (see Lomani's autobiography, page 444). Some youngsters have only cast-off pieces of cloth and seem to suffer the same feeling of inadequacy and shame that ragged children experience in our culture.

Sex play during this period is frowned upon by adults, but it un-

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woman stepped over Lanata and urinated on him, thereby bewitching him. 539

The next day Lanata's six friends called him. He wished to accompany them, but the woman persuaded him to continue living with her in the village.

In five days the woman suggested that Lanata go pig hunting with his brothers-in-law. Lanata shot an animal which the dogs were pursuing and which proved to be a snake. This happened twice. His brothers-in-law wished to eat the snake, but Lanata refused and instead provided himself with crabs and crayfish from the ravine. The next day he returned to the village with only the remnants of his crabs, whereas his brothers-in-law brought in the snake meat. His wife cooked the meat, but Lanata refused to touch it, saying, "You eat what I should eat. You substitute for my mouth."

After a time the woman was pregnant. She and Lanata set out for his village of Murawating. On the way she turned into a bat and flew to his village while he walked. While they lived in Murawating, a child from Kewai entered their garden. The child saw a green snake sleeping on top of a tuber which was pushing through the earth. The green snake (witch) ate the child's liver, and the child died. The men of Kewai were angry. They encircled Lanata's house and set it afire. Lanata's wife turned into a bat and flew away. Lanata was shot as he tried to escape. As he lay dying his hand closed on Alurkowani's testicles so firmly that it had to be pried open. After that Lanata's soul possessed Alurkowani, and witches multiplied in Kewai so that now all the people there are witches.

The improbability of anecdotes about witchcraft makes me feel that we are dealing here with a complete fantasy structure. The beliefs are couched in terms similar to those used in near-by culture areas. In such clusters of ideas, peoples from other regions have invested a great deal of psychic energy. It is noteworthy that this is not the case in Atimelang, where neither witchcraft, sorcery, nor poisoning bulks large, either as an institution or a preoccupation. 754 154 171

Only two deaths of which I knew gave rise to definite gossip of poisoning. It was, however, very cautiously discussed in undertones and only among friends. It is possible that more such rumors circulated but never reached my ears. However, one man who had not been feeling well for some time talked quite freely with me about the possibility of having been poisoned on a trip to the coast, where he chewed areca with a stranger. It was very difficult to get any concrete data even from 761 521

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[Long pause. Again he said that he had forgotten much. I suggested that he listen to the thoughts that traveled through his head.]

When I was still small my hair was reddish. Falanata was staying with us. When we fought she called me redhead. I answered by calling her Faleata. [Play on the name of Falanata; *faleata* is the name of a wild plant used as food.] She called me Fankai [a dog's name, a play on his name, Fantan]. We fought; she was bigger than I and clamped her hand over my mouth and hit me. [Pause.]

One time when I was about twelve years old, my father took me to Kelaisi. We went because Atakalieta had come to ask for a pig. When we delivered the pig, he killed a chicken for us and we ate it, but the two legs we saved for a very old woman, grandmother of my mother, called Koleti. We took them to her in Kaminwati. She cooked rice and fed us. She gave us a bunch of bananas and a full basket of areca nuts. We went back to Kelaisi and slept there overnight, and the next day we came home here to Atimelang.

When I was that old I could not go to Makangfokung because if I went there I would die. [He paused to make me ask why.] My father and uncle had begotten many boys there, but they all died. Only the girls lived. Kaloi, the spirit of our lineage house, had killed them; it said that all the male children belonged to it. My two brothers had already died, so my mother and father thought I would die too. Father went to Kelaisi to buy a medicine. He paid a piece of cloth and a moko for it. When he brought it home he killed a pig, a big one, to feed the medicine. After that father could go to Makangfokung, and when I was older I could too. Father went to Makangfokung, put the medicine on a stone, and threw the stone in the house. Then a snake rose halfway from the ground. My father placed some of the medicine on a little stone and held it in front of the snake, and the snake died. Father didn't hit it; it just died. After he had this medicine father could kill the evil spirits that lived in trees and other places. He could burn off spirit abodes, and everything would dry up there. The trees would die and dry up, and with them all the taboo strings. [Fantan had had several "taboo strings" extracted from under his sternum that year.] Manifula is a spirit abode. I placed the medicine there and burned it over. I went up and there were many dead snakes. [How long since you have cut this garden at Manifula? He spoke as though it were in the present.] I haven't cut that place in about six years. It was while father was still alive. He died less than a year after I cut the Manifula garden.

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159 living there, I said we had better give Mailani a bride-price. Likma gave him an eight-handled Makassar moko, with which Mailani bought an Afuipe.

761 At that time Padalani, my oldest brother, died. An evil spirit entered his stomach, which swelled and killed him. At that time I was pregnant with Fuimai. Mailani went to hunt pigs and chickens for the buriers because they had to stay in a field as though Padalani had died of leprosy. They had to bring two pigs and chickens for the Hevelaberka and the same for the Hevelakang feast. When the buriers returned they were paid their "cold pig" [*palata fe*] as extra payment for having had to sleep in the cold field house. We wanted to beat gongs, but the people were afraid and so we didn't. Then I gave birth to Fuimai. Mailani hunted rats for me and played with Fuimai, saying, "Oh, this is my corn with a big voice."

767 465

About four months later Mailani died, and Likma hunted pigs for his Hevelaberka and Hevelakang feasts. So we decided to make one feast for all our dead—father and my three siblings. We gave a Rolik feast. We paid on one day a Piki moko for both Mailani's and Padalani's shrouds. On father's we paid a Kabali moko. For Lonberka we paid a Kabali moko too. Likma cried, because he had stayed so long with them that they were like his own mother and father. I cried a great deal too. After that feast I was pregnant with Kolaka and gave birth to her. I said to Likma, "Now we must plant a large field [*pining*] and give a feast for your dead." We pounded twelve baskets of rice. We asked the chief of Rualkameng for a pig. In return we gave two rupiahs in money as a preliminary bride-price. We said we had better get another pig. Riemau and Lanmau gave us another pig as a dowry on me. We gave Lanmau a pig as bride-price, and he gave us a big one in return as dowry. We gave the tumukun two and a half rupiahs in money as bride-price, and he gave us a Tamamia moko as dowry. The chief of Rualkameng brought rice and promised to bring the pig. So I pounded the rice and made sixty calabash dishes full of rice baskets; twenty of these I myself gave—among them three plates of kamo rice baskets, three of pe rice baskets and three of maru rice baskets. Included in the sixty were two of tubers and twenty-five of raw rice and corn. [The *maru* rice baskets are the usual kind; the *pe* and *kamo* are more ostentatious because they hold more.] Then on the second day the chief of Rualkameng came with the pig.

[Where did Likma get his money?] At that time there was much money. Two ears of corn sold for one cent in Kalabahi. Likma sold

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159 mouths they were not angry, but one doesn't know what thoughts people have in their hearts. So we went to live at Kamangmelang after a month or so. Mother made a lean-to [*tolang*] and we lived there.

Padamai [the husband of an older sister, Lonpada] came and said, "Oh, my mother-in-law and my younger siblings are living like this. I had better build them a field house [*tofa*]." So he began to build us a field house at Maihieta. At that time my older sister Falepang had sores all over her legs and couldn't walk; she just crawled. Her body was emaciated. She died before Padamai finished our field house. [Question.] She was a full-grown woman at the time, but she had never married because she had had sores ever since she was small.

At the time Falepang died, Padamai said to my older sister, "Let us go stay with your mother and younger sisters." So they came and stayed at Kamangmelang. Then Lonpada had her first child, Padamani. Those two [Lonpada and Padamai] went to make a garden at Padavi.
159 Later they had a second child, Talpada. Then Lonpada was pregnant
761 again and gave birth to Fuimau; but she had another child in her stom-
854 ach, the child of an evil spirit, and she died of this [i.e., in childbirth]. [Question.] The human child they were afraid would die too if we tried to bring her up. So Maliclani said she would take the child to Alurkowati to raise it. When she came to get the child, we all shouted, "Oh, a hawk has carried off this child." Then the child wouldn't die. Malielani had to take the baby out through the thatch instead of the door. This is to fool the evil spirit or the spirits of the dead people who want to take the child. Malielani cared for the child until it could laugh
159 and almost sit up; then it died. At this time Lonpada [the daughter of
853 Padatimang of Dikimpe], who was a relative of ours, wanted to bring it
854 up. Atakari, who was the husband of Malielani, heard of it. He said they were kin too and Malielani had a small child of her own, so that she had better take it and raise them together. She could suckle them both. In the Three Villages people are luckier than in Atimelang in bringing up infants whose mothers have died, so we thought we had better give the child to someone in the Three Villages.

159 [Pause. I said we hadn't yet heard of Melanglang.] One of my grandmothers was called Melanglang, so mother named one of her children after her. [Here Lomani went off into a confused genealogy establishing her relationship with Melanglang and other persons now living. I asked her again about her sister.] I never saw Melanglang. She lived long enough to talk, but I never saw her. I wasn't born yet and so don't remember her.